

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3587

C O N F I D E N T I A L WARSAW 1889

EXDIS

E. O. 11652 : GDS

TAGS: PFOR, MARR, PL, US, VS

SUBJECT: DISCUSSION WITH PZPR SECRETARIAT MEMBER FRELEK

1. IN MARCH, I PLACED A REQUEST FOR A COURTESY CALL WITH THE OFFICE OF RYSZARD FRELEK, MEMBER OF THE SECRETARIAT OF THE UNITED POLISH WORKER S' PARTY (PZPR), WHOM I HAD MET DURING HIS 1969 VISIT TO WASHINGTON (HE THEN WAS DIRECTOR OF THE POLISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS). INITIALLY, WE WERE TOLD THAT FRELEK WAS SICK (APRIL 19 HE CONFIRMED THAT HE HAD SPENT TWO WEEKS AT A SANATORIUM IN KRYNICA; HIS COMPLAINT IS COLITIS MUCOSA). FOLLOWING HIS RETURN TO ACTIVE DUTY, A REITERATED REQUEST FOR AN APPOINTMENT MET WITH NO POSITIVE RESPONSE UNTIL APRIL 13, WHEN FRELEK' S OFFICE TOOK THE INITIATIVE AND GAVE ME AN APPOINTMENT FOR THE AFTERNOON OF APRIL 17. EARLY THIS WEEK, WE WERE INFORMED THAT FRELEK WISHED ME TO COME TO LUNCH APRIL 19 AT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY PALACE ON FOKSAL STREET, INSTEAD OF MEETING HIM IN HIS OFFICE.

2. WE HAD A TWO- HOUR LUNCH IN A RELAXED AND CORDIAL ATMOSPHERE, WHICH CONCLUDED WITH FRELEK OFFERING TO SEE ME WHENEVER I WISHED AND TO PROVIDE ANY ASSISTANCE HE COULD ON MATTERS OF MUTUAL CONCERN. (HE ALSO AGREED TO MY SUGGESTION THAT IT WOULD BE GOOD TO ESTABLISH CONTACT BETWEEN THE EMBASSY AND THE OFFICER OF HIS SECTION OF THE SECRETARIAT, ZDZISLAW NICINSKI, WHO IS CHARGED WITH FOL- LOWING RELATIONS WITH THE US).

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3. THE FIRST HALF- HOUR OF CONVERSATION WAS OCCUPIED BY

FRELEK' S OUTLINING OF POLISH ECONOMIC GOALS (EXPEDITED CONSTRUCTION OF HOUSING; INCREASED BEEF PRODUCTION FOR EXPORT; INCREASED SUPPLY OF AUTOMOBILES FOR INDIVIDUAL USE; INCREASED EXPORTS; ESTABLISHMENT OF ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH WESTERN FIRMS AND, PARTICULARLY, AMERICAN COMPANIES).

4. FOLLOWING THIS, FRELEK TURNED TO CURRENT US- POLISH RELATIONS BY ASKING WHY THE STORY ON POSTPONEMENT OF THE MITREGA- KACZMAREK VISIT HAD BEEN PUBLISHED AND THEN CONFIRMED BY THE DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN. I REPLIED THAT I HAD HEARD OF THE STORY ONLY FROM VOA AND IN A BRIEF WIRELESS FILE ITEM AND CONSEQUENTLY HAD NO EXACT IDEA OF HOW IT HAD SURFACED, EXACTLY WHAT IT SAID, OR WHAT THE SPOKESMAN HAD SAID IN REPLYING TO QUESTIONS ABOUT IT. I THEREFORE COULD NOT AGREE WITH THE IMPLICATION OF HIS QUESTION THAT WE HAD PURPOSEFULLY LEAKED THE STORY. FRELEK SAID THAT, AS I KNEW, WASILEWSKI HAD JUST LEFT WARSAW TO RETURN TO VIETNAM. HE HAD BEEN GIVEN INSTRUCTIONS QUOTE TO BE AS FLEXIBLE AND OBJECTIVE AS POSSIBLE UNQUOTE IN PURSUING THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE POLISH DELEGATION TO THE ICCS. NOW, THIS STORY HAD APPEARED AND IT PUT THE POLES QUOTE BETWEEN TWO FIRES UNQUOTE, SINCE QUOTE OUR FRIENDS IN HANOI UNQTE WILL READ IT, TOO. I ASKED WHETHER HE MEANT THAT THE INSTRUCTION WASILEWSKI HAD BEEN GIVEN WOULD BE CHANGED AS A RESULT OF THE WASHINGTON POST STORY. FRELEK SAID THAT THOSE INSTRUCTIONS WOULD STAND, BUT THAT WASILEWSKI' S TASK WOULD CERTAINLY NOT BE MADE ANY EASIER AS A RESULT OF THE STORY.

5. FRELEK THEN LAUNCHED INTO AN EXPOSITION OF THE POLISH VIEW OF THE SITUATION IN SOUTH VIETNAM AND THE ICCS' S INABILITY TO ACT AS A POLICE FORCE, CONTAINING THE PRINCIPAL ELEMENT OF THE PRESENTATION TREPCZYNSKI HAD MADE ON APRIL 14. HIS CENTRAL POINT WAS ENBODIED IN THE CONTENTION THAT THE US AND DRV HAD MADE AN AGREEMENT WHICH BOTH SIDES AND CARRIED OUT MORE OR LESS COMPLETELY AND SUCCESSFULLY, BUT THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO EFFECTIVE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GRV AND PRG, WHICH CONTINUED TO FIGHT AND WHICH HAD MADE NO PROGRESS AT ALL TOWARDS A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, HE SAID, THAT ICCS WAS LEFT TO TRY TO

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ENFORCE A CEASEFIRE WHICH HAD REALLY NEVER TAKEN PLACE.

6. HE CONCLUDED THIS PRESENTATION BY REMARKING THAT POLAND HAD AGREED TO SERVE ON THE ICCS IN THE BELIEF THAT, BY DOING SO, IT WAS SERVING ITS OWN INTERESTS, BOTH BY ENGAGING IN AN ACTIVITY WHICH MIGHT HELP BRING TO A CLOSE THE FIGHTING WHICH HAD OVERSHADOWED THE DEVELOPMENT OF BETTER EAST- WEST RELATIONS AND BY AGREEING TO HELP THE

UNITED STATES, THE INTERESTS OF WORLD PEACE, AND THE INTERESTS OF ITS FELLOW SOCIALIST STATE, THE DRV. IRONICALLY, HE SAID, IT NOW APPEARED THAT AN UNFORESEEN RESULT OF ITS AGREEMENT MIGHT BE A WORSENING OF ITS RELATIONS WITH THE US.

7. I REPEATED THE PRINCIPAL LINES OF THE PRESENTATION DEPUTY SECRETARY RUSH HAD MADE TO FRACKIEWICZ, STRESSING OUR CONCERN AT THE POLISH ICCS DELEGATION' S INACTIVITY, OBFUSCATION, AND DELAYING TACTICS IN CONSIDERING COMPLAINTS FROM THE GRV.

8. FRELEK THEN GAVE ME THE ARGUMENT I HAD HEARD APRIL 18 FROM SOVIET AMBASSADOR PILOTOVICH: THAT THE PRG MADE VERY FEW, INDEED ALMOST NO, COMPLAINTS OF VIOLATIONS. I ASKED HIM WHY THIS WAS. HE SAID THE PRG DID NOT BELIEVE THE ICCS COULD HELP IT AND, AS A MATTER OF PRINCIPLE, REFRAINED FROM SUBMITTING COMPLAINTS. FOR THE SAME REASON, IT REFRAINED FROM STAFFING THE TPJMC.

9. I SAID THAT THERE WAS NOT MUCH POINT IN OUR DELVING INTO THE INTRICACIES OF THE SITUATION IN VIETNAM AT THIS DISTANCE FROM THE ACTION. I SAID WE HAD BEEN CLEAR FROM THE BEGINNING OF OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH THE POLES IN MARCH THAT WE WERE TALKING ONLY ABOUT ONE THING: THE READINESS OF MEMBERS OF THE POLISH DELEGATION TO DO WHAT FOREIGN MINISTER OLSZOWSKI HAD TOLD ME THEY WOULD DO, I. E., INVESTIGATE CHARGES OF VIOLATIONS OF THE PEACE AGREEMENTS. THE TEST OF THIS WOULD THEREFORE BE VISIBLE IN THE ACTIONS OF THE POLISH ICCS DELEGATION. WE HAD DETAILED A NUMBER OF INSTANCES IN WHICH WE FLED THE POLISH DELEGATION HAD NOT TAKEN ACTION OR HAD ACTED INADEQUATELY, AND I HAD NOT YET YEARD FROM THE POLISH SIDE ANY EXPLANATION WHICH LED ME TO DOUBT THAT THE ACTIONS OF THE POLISH DELEGATIONS HAD NOT BEEN AS WE DESCRIBED THEM.

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10. GOOD- NATUREDLY, FRELEK SAID THAT IF THE POLISH SIDE WERE TO UNDERTAKE SUCH A REFUTATION, TI WOULD BE TACITLY ACKNOWLEDGING THAT IT HAD AN OBLIGATION TO REPORT TO US ON THE WAY IN WHICH IT CONDUCTED ITS AFFAIRS IN AN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION. THE PRINCIPLE WAS INADMISSIBLE.

11. FRELEK THEN SAID THAT THE QUESTION IN WHICH HE WAS MORE INTERESTED WAS THAT OF THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR RELATIONS. WITH REGARD TO THAT, HE COULD TELL ME HE HAD RECOMMEND TO HIS SUPERIORS THAT THEY REACT CALMLY TO THE POSTPONEMENT OF THE MITREGA- KACZMAREK VISIT AND CONTINUE TO FULFILL THE OBLIGATIONS POLAND HAD UNDERTAKEN TOWARDS THE US WHEN THE PRESIDENT VISITED WARSAW. HE COULD NOT, OF COURSE, SAY WHETHER HIS RECOMMENDATIONS WOULD BE ACCEPTED. THE POLISH

GOVERNMENT HAD HAD HOPES THAT THESE VISITS COULD CONTINUE THE PROCESS OF IMPROVING US- POLISH RELATIONS AND HAD HOPED, MORE SPECIFICALLY, THAT SOME BUSINESS COULD BE DONE, PARTICULARLY DURING THE MITREGA VISIT. PERHAPS IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO MEET THAT LATTER OBJECTIVE, FOR EXAMPLE, BY A VISIT A LOWER LEVEL THAN THAT OF A MINISTER. I SAID I COULD INQUIRE ABOUT THIS POSSIBILITY. FRELEK SAID HE HAD RECOMMENDED, TOO, THAT PRIME MINISTER JAROSZEWICZ RECEIVE THE SENATE COMMERCE COMMITTEE (CODEL HARTKE). I SAID I THOUGHT SUCH A MEETING WOULD BE IN THE INTEREST OF BOTH SIDES. IN GENERAL, FRELEK CONCLUDED, HE FELT THAT THE POLISH SIDE SHOULD CONTINUE TO FULFILL ACCURATELY THE UNDERTAKINGS IT HAD ASSUMED DURING AND AS A RESULT OF THE PRESIDENT' S VISIT.

12. I SAID I WOULD OF COURSE REPORT WHAT HE HAD SAID, BUT REPEATED THAT I THOUGHT THE TEST WOULD STILL BE THE ATTITUDE AND ACTIVITIES OF THE POLISH ICCS DELEGATION. DAVIES

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